Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio.

The Noble and learned Knight
S.r Walter Raleigh. Ro: Vaughan fe.

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SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S SCEPTICK,

OR

SPECULATIONS.

And

OBSERVATIONS of the *Magnificency* and *Opulency* of CITIES.

His

SEAT of *GOVERNMENT.*

And

LETTERS to the KINGS Majestie, and others of Qualitie.

Also his Demeanor before his EXECUTION.

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Sir *Walter Raleigh's* SCEPTICK.

The SCEPTICK *doth neither affirm, neither denie any Position: but doubteth of it, and oppoſeth his Reaſons againſt that which is affirmed, or denied, to juſtifie his not Conſenting.*

HIs firſt Reaſon ariſeth, from the conſideration of the great difference amongſt living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Generations,

tions, and the ſeveral Conſtitutions of their bodies.

Some living Creatures are by copulation, and ſome without it, and that either by Fire as Crickets in fornaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or ſlime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms: ſome of aſhes, as Beetles; ſome of trees, as the Worms *Pſenas* bred in the wild Fig-tree; ſome of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Waſps of Horſes. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; ſome in the egg, as Birds; ſome in an un-

unſhapen piece of fleſh, as Beârs. Theſe great differences cannot but cauſe a divers and contrary temperament, and qualitie in thoſe creatures, and conſequently, a great diverſitie in their phantaſie and conceit; ſo that they apprehend one and the ſame object, yet they muſt do it after a divers manner; for is it not abſurd to affirm, That creatures differ ſo much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the ſame object?

But this will more plainly appear, if the inſtruments of Sence in the body be obſerved: for we ſhall find, that

Seein

as theſe inſtruments are affected and diſpoſed, ſo doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which ſeemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundiſe, ſeemeth Pale, and Red unto thoſe whoſe Eyes are bloud-ſhot. Forſomuch then as living creatures have ſome white, ſome pale, ſome red eyes, why ſhould not one and the ſame object ſeem to ſome white, ſome red, to ſome pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth ſeemeth long, or narrow; is it then not likely, That thoſe creatures which have a long

and

and ſlanting Pupil of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, *&c.* do convey the faſhion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than thoſe that have round Pupils do do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glaſs preſenteth the outward object ſmoother, or greater, according to the making of the glaſs? If it be hollow, the object ſeemeth ſmaller than it is, if the glaſs be crooked, then the object ſeemeth long and narrow. And glaſſes there be, which preſenteth the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, & the heels upwards. Now then, ſeeing the eye

which is the inſtrument of Sight, in ſome living creatures is more outward, in ſome more hollow, in ſome plain, in ſome greater, in ſome leſs; it is very probable, that Fiſhes, Men, Lions, and Dogs, whoſe eyes ſo much differ, do not conceive the ſelf ſame object after the ſame manner, but diverſly, according to the diverſitie of the eye; which offereth it unto the phantaſie.

Touch The ſame reaſon holdeth in Touching; for ſeemeth it not abſurd to think, that thoſe creatures, which are covered with Shels, thoſe which are covered with Scales, thoſe which are covered

covered with Hairs, and thoſe which are Smooth, ſhould all be alike ſenſible in Touching? and every one of them conveigh the image, or qualitie of the ſame object which they touch, in the very ſame degree of heat or cold, of drineſs or moiſture, roughneſs or ſmoothneſs unto the imagination?

So might it be ſhewed in Hearing, for how cā we think that the Ear, which hath a narrow paſſage, and the Ear, which hath an open & wide paſſage, do receive the ſame ſound in the ſame degree? or that the Ear, whoſe inſide is full of hair, doth hear in the *Hearing.*

ſame juſt meaſure, that the Ear doth whoſe inſide is ſmooth? Since experience ſheweth, that if we ſtop, or half ſtop our Ears, the ſound cometh not to us in the ſame manner and degree, that it doth if our ears be open?

Smelling. The like may be thought of Smelling, for man himſelf abounding with Fleagm, is otherwiſe affected in ſmelling, than he is, if the parts about the head be full of bloud; and many things afford a delightfull ſmell to ſome living creatures, which ſmel to other living creatures ſeemeth not to be ſo.

Taſting. In the Taſte the ſame reaſon appeareth; for to a rough and

and drie tongue, that very thing ſeemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moiſter tongue ſeemeth not to be ſo. Divers creatures then having tongues drier, or moiſter, according to their ſeveral temperatures, when they taſt the ſame thing, muſt needs conceit it to be according as the inſtrument of their taſt is affected, either bitter, or ſweet, *&c.* For even as the hand in the ſtriking of the Harp, though the ſtroak be one, yet cauſeth a ſound, ſometimes high, ſometimes baſe, according to the qualitic of the ſtring that is ſtrucken. Even ſo one and the ſame outward object is di-

verſly judged of, and conceited, according to the ſeveral and divers qualities of the inſtrument of Sence, which conveieth it to the imagination. Oyntment is pleaſing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable; but it killeth Bees and Waſps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both of theſe hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is ſick; but the Bear being ſick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very ſame thing to the red eye ſeem red, to another pale, and white to another: If one and the ſame thing, ſeem not

not hot or cold, drie or moiſt, in the ſame degree to the ſeveral creatures which touch it: If one and the ſelf ſame ſound ſeem more ſhrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more baſe to him that hath an open ear: If the ſame thing, at the ſame time, ſeem to afford a pleaſant and diſpleaſant Smell to divers and ſeveral creatures: If that ſeem bitter in taſt to one, which to another ſeemeth ſweet, that to one hurtful, which to another ſeemeth healthful, I may report how theſe things appear divers to ſeveral creatures, and ſeem to produce divers effects.

But

but what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or ſweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why ſhould I preſume to profer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, becauſe it ſeemeth to me to be ſo, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwiſe in each one nature, becauſe it appeareth otherwiſe to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I, why then ſhould I condemn their conceit and phantaſie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine?

mine? They may be in the truth and I in errour, as well as I in truth, and they err. If my conceit muſt be believed before theirs, great reaſon that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this proof muſt be either by demonſtration, or without it; without it none will believe; Certainly, if by demonſtration, then this demonſtration muſt ſeem to be true, or not ſeem to be true; if it ſeem to be true, then will it be a queſtion, whether it be ſo indeed as it ſeemeth to be; and to alleadge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and queſtionable, ſeemeth abſurd.

If

If it be ſaid, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other living creatures doth, & therefore to be credited above others, (beſides that which is already ſaid) this is eaſily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confeſſed, the Dog excelleth Man in ſmell, and in hearing, and whereas there is ſaid to be a twofold diſcourſe, one of the mind, another of the tongue, and that of the mind is ſaid to be exerciſed in chuſing that which is convenient, and refuſing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, juſtice, & thankfulneſs.

fulnes: This creature chuſeth his food, refuſeth the whip, fawneth on his Maſter, defendeth his houſe, revengeth himſelf of thoſe ſtrangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus*, the dog of *Uliſſes*, who knew his maſter having been from home ſo many years, that at his return, all the people of his houſe had forgot him. This creature, ſaith *Chryſippus*, is not void of Logick; for when in following any beaſt, he cōeth to three ſeveral ways, he ſmelleth to the one, & then to the ſecond, and if he find that the beaſt which he purſueth be not fled one of theſe 2 ways, he preſently without ſmelling

ſmelling any further to it, taketh the third way, which, ſaith the ſame Philoſopher, is as if he reaſoned thus, the Beaſt muſt be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this nor this, *Ergò*, the third: and ſo away he runneth.

If we conſider his skill in Phyſick, it is ſufficient to help himſelf; if he be wounded with a dart, he uſeth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanſe the wound from corruption; he ſeemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hippocrates*, who ſaith, that the Reſt of the Foot is the Phyſick of the Foot, and there-

therefore if his foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may reſt; if he be ſick, he giveth himſelf a Vomit by eating of Graſs, and recovereth himſelf; the Dog then we ſee is plentifully furniſhed with inward diſcourſe.

Now outward ſpeech is not needfull to make a creature Reaſonable, elſe a dumb Man were an unreaſonable Creature.

And do not Philoſophers themſelves reject this as an enêie to knowledg? & therefore they are *Silea* when they are inſtructed; and yet even as Barbarous and ſtrange people of ſpeech, but we underſtand it not, neither do we perceive

perceive any great difference in their words: but a difference there ſeemeth to be, and they do expres their thoughts and meanings one to another by thoſe words. Evē ſo thoſe creatures, which are commonly called unreaſonable, do ſeem to parlie one with another; and by their ſpeech to underſtand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of ſpeech call their young ones, and by another cauſe them to hide themſelves? do they not by their ſeveral voices expreſs their ſeveral paſſions of joy, of grief, of fear in ſuch manner, that their fellows underſtand them? Do they not by their voice foreſhew

ſhew things to come? But we will return to that creature we firſt did inſtance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. Theſe creatures then are not void of outward ſpeech.

If then theſe creatures excel Man in ſence, & are equal to him in inward & outward diſcourſe, why ſhould not their conceits & imaginations conveigh the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if ſo, then ſeeing their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diverſly according to their

divers

divers temperaments, I may tell what the outward object ſeemeth to me; but what it ſeemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it ſeemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the Judgement of Man in this caſe, is to be preferred before the Judgement of Beaſts; yet in Men there is great difference; both in reſpect of the outward ſhape, and alſo of the temperature of their bodies: For the bodie of the *Scythian* differeth in ſhape from the bodie of the *Indian*, the reaſon of it ariſeth (ſaith the Dogmatiques) from a pre-

predominancie of humours in the one more than in the other; and as ſeveral humours are predominant, ſo are the phantaſies and conceits ſeverally framed and effected. So that our countrey men delight in one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another which we regard not. This would not be, if their conceits and ours were both alike, for then we ſhould like that which they do, and they would diſlike that which we would diſlike. It is evident alſo, that men differ very much in the temperature of their bodies, elſe why ſhould ſome more eaſily digeſt Beef than Shel-fiſh:

and

and other be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing ſixtie Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lyſis*, without hurt, took four drams of Poppie; and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold whē he ſtood in the ſun, or in a hot bath; but very hot when he ſtood in the ſhadow. *Athenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion ſtung him. And the *Pſilli* (a people in *Lybia*, whoſe bodies are venom to ſerpents) if they be ſtung by ſerpents, or

Aſps,

Aſps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Ethiopians*, which inhabit the river *Hydaſpis*, do eat ſerpents and ſcorpions without danger. *Lothericus* a Chyrurgian, at the ſmell of a Sturgeon, would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos*, was ſo little thirſtie, that without want of drink, he travelled through the hot and drie countrey of *Lybia*. *Tyberius Ceſar*, would ſee very well in the dark. *Ariſtotle*, mentioneth of *Thratius*, who ſaid, that the image of a Man went always before him.

If then it be ſo, that there be

be ſuch differences in Men, this muſt be by reaſon of the divers temperatures they have, and divers diſpoſition of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very ſame thing, it muſt be that their phantaſies differ, elſe all would love it, or all would hate it. Theſe Men then, may tell how theſe things ſeem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the ſame matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we ſhall find

find this to be impoſſible; for, either we muſt believe what all men ſay of it, or what ſome men onely ſay of it. To believe what all men ſay of one and the ſame thing, is not poſſible; for then we ſhall believe Contrarieties; for ſome men ſay, That that very thing is pleaſant, which other ſay is diſpleaſant. If it be ſaid we muſt believe onely ſome men, then let it be ſhewed who thoſe ſome men are; for the *Platoniſts* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures Epicurus*, the *Pythagorians Pythagorus* and other Philoſophers, the maſters of their own Sects: ſo that it is doubt-

full, to which of all theſe we ſhall give credit. If it be ſaid, that we muſt credit the greateſt number, this ſeemeth childiſh, for there may be amongſt other Nations a greater number which denie that very point, which the greateſt number with us do affirm: ſo that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument ſeemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Sences of *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Touching*, and *Taſting* be conſidered; for that the Sences differ, it ſeemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the

the art of Slanting is uſed) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were ſome higher, and ſome lower than the other, but to the Touch they ſeem not to be ſo.

Honey ſeemeth to the Tongue ſweet, but unpleaſant to the Eye: ſo Oyntment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taſt. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how theſe things ſeem to our ſeveral ſences, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell: for why ſhould not a man credit any one of his ſences as well as the other?

Every object ſeemeth to be preſented diverſly unto the ſeveral inſtruments of Sence. An Apple to the Touch ſeemeth ſmooth, ſweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of theſe qualities onely, or more than theſe qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the ſame blaſt of wind, varied according to the capacitie of the ſeveral Pipes which receive it: even ſo the qualitie of the Apple may be but one, and that this one qualitie may be varied, and ſeem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch ſmooth, and

ſweet

ſweet to the Smell, by reaſon of the divers inſtruments of the Sence, which apprehend this one quality diverſly,

It may be alſo, that an Apple hath many qualities beſides, but we are not able to conceive them all; becauſe we want fit means and inſtruments to apprehend them: for ſuppoſe that ſome Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, ſmell, and taſt; this man will not think that there is any thing, which may be ſeen or heard, becauſe he wanteth the Sences of hearing and ſeeing, he will onely think there are thoſe qualities in the object, which

by reaſon of his three Sences he conceiveth: Even ſo the Apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, becauſe we want fit inſtruments for that purpoſe.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many inſtruments of Sence, as there are ſencible objects; I demand, What Nature? for there is a confuſed controverſie about the very Eſſence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: ſo that what the qualitie of an Apple is, or whether it hath one qualitie or many I know not.

Let

Let a man alſo conſider how many things that are ſeperated, and by themſelves appear to differ from that which they ſeem to be, when they are in a maſs or lump; the ſcrapings of the Goats horn ſeems white, but in the horn they ſeem black, but in the lump white. The ſtone *Tænarus*, being poliſhed, ſeemeth white, but unpoliſhed and rough, it ſeemeth yellow. Sands being ſeperated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, ſoft. I may then report, how theſe things appear, but whether they are ſo indeed, I know not.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Cauſes of the Magnificencie *and* Opulencie *of* CITIES.

THAT the onely way to civilize and reform the ſavage and barbarous Lives, and corrupt Manners of ſuch people, is,

1 To be dealt withall by gentle and loving Converſation among them, to attain

to the knowledge of their Language, and of the multitude of their ſpecial diſcommodities and inconveniences in their manner of living.

2 The next is to get an admired reputation amongſt them, upon a ſolid and true foundation of Pietie, Juſtice, and wiſdom, conjoyned with fortitude and power.

3 The third is, diſcreetly to poſſeſs them with a knowledge of the condition of their own eſtate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion*, were ſaid to draw after them the beaſts of the field, *&c.*

And this muſt be firſt wrought by a viſible repreſenta-

ſentation, of the certaintie, truth, and ſinceritie of theſe, together with the felicitie of a reformed eſtate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholeſom and good adviſe, for the future profit and felicitie of themſelves and their poſteritie.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perſwaded to withdraw and unite themſelves into ſeveral Colonies; that by an interchangeable communication, and commerce of all things may

may more commodiouſly be had, and that they may ſo live together in civilitie, for the better ſuccour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more eaſily be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and governed under the Magiſtrates and miniſters of the King, or other ſuperiour power, under whom this Reformation is ſought; which courſe the Stoick tells, that *Theſius* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one Citie, that before lived diſperſedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice

ctice at this day by the *Portugalls*, and *Jesuits*, that they may with less difficultie and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and savage life of the people of *Brazeel*, who dwell scattered & dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great, built more than seventie Cities; *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Appanice*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memorie of his mother; and five called *Seleuciæ*, to the honour of himself.

Safetie

Safetie for Defence of the People and their goods, in and near the Town.

Scituation for Safety, and Plenty.

IN the Scituation of Cities, there is to be required a place of Safetie, by ſome natural ſtrength, commodiouſneſs for Navigation, and Conduct, for the attaining of plentie of all good things, for the ſuſtenance and comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and entercourſe of other Nations, as if the ſame be ſcituate in ſuch ſort, as many people have need to repair thither for ſome natural commoditie, or other of the

the Countrey, which by traffick and tranſportation of cõmodities, whereof they have more plentie than will ſupplie their own neceſſitie, or for receiving of things whereof they have ſcarcitie. And much better will it be, if the place afford ſome notable commoditie of it ſelf, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the ſame. Likewiſe, and withall, be ſo fertil, pleaſant, and healthfull of it ſelf, that it may afford plentie of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

Multitude of Inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations, Kings and Potentates have

have endured ſharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increaſe their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the *Romans* ever furniſhed themſelves with ſtrength and power, to make their neighbour-People, of neceſſitie, willing to draw themſelves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean ſtrength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cauſe utterly deſtroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquiſhed Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mightie fight

fight with the *Sabynes* condeſcended to Peace, upon condition, that *Tacius* their King ſhould come with all their people to dwell at *Rome: Tacius* did accept and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his ſeat and Pallace.

The ſame courſe held *Tamberlain* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Sarmacauda*, ſtill bringing unto it, the richeſt and wealthieſt Citizens he had ſubdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the Citie *Conſtantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thouſand Families,

lies, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trabizond*, *Selim* the First from *Caïro*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authoritie and necessitie, without the consideration of the conveniencies, and commodiousnes of Scituation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a Citie, thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificencie or Opulencie: for if Profit, Height, and Delight, go not companions therewith, no authoritie or necessitie, can retain much People or Wealth.

But

But if the place whereupon a Citie is to be founded, be cõmodious for the aforeſaid conveniences, which help greatly for the felicitie of this life; then, no doubt, the ſame is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the ſame, whereby it may, by the help of Arts & Induſtrie in time, become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good eſtate, greatneſs, and glorie of a Citie, thoſe things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance, *viz.*

Religion, which is of ſuch force and might, to amplifie *Religion.*

Cities

Cities and Dominions, and of ſuch attractive virtue to repleniſh the ſame with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of ſome Dietie, no Common-wealth can ſubſiſt.

Witneſs *Jeruſalem, Rome, Conſtantinople*, and all other cities that have been famous for the profeſſion of Religion, or Divine worſhip. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacie and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men, than God, which is the *ſummum bonum*. He is carefully deſired, and conti-

continually ſought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their laſt end and refuge.

Light things apply themſelves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to flowers, Trees to bear fruit, Beaſts to preſent their kind, and Man in ſeeking his tranquilitie and everlaſting glory. But foraſmuch as God is of ſo high a nature, as the ſence and underſtanding of Man cānot conceive it, every man directly turns himſelf to that place where he leaves ſome print of his power, or declares ſome ſign of his aſſiſtance. And to ſuch perſons whom he ſeemeth more eſpe-

ſpecially to have revealed himſelf.

Academies. Academies, and Schools of Learning, with convenient immunities and priviledges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a citie: foraſmuch as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts and liberal ſciences ſome bring certain wealth to men, and ſome promotions and preferments to honourable functions: for by this means, not onely young men, and thoſe that are deſirous of Learning and Virtue in the ſame Common-wealth, will be retained in

in their own Countrey; but alſo ſtrangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occaſion be given to Scholars and ſtudents, to riſe to degrees of Honour and preferment by their learned exerciſes, and that by the Policie of the ſame citie, good Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: and that the ſame Academies & Schools be ſtored with plentie of Doctours and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts of Juſtice.

Courts of Juſtice, with due execution of the ſame in a citie, do much enable, enlarge, and enrich it; for it faſten-

faſteneth a great liking in a citie to virtuous men, and ſuch as be wealthie, that therein they may be free, and in ſafetie from the violence of the oppreſſions of covetous and wicked men: and there will be rather reſort thither to inhabit, or traffick there as occaſions may miniſter unto them. And many others that have cauſe of ſuite will repair thither, whereas they may be ſure to find Judgement and Juſtice duely executed, whereby the citie muſt needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Juſtice: ſo that if Juſtice be not admi-

adminiſtered amongſt men, in vain is there any ſocietie and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or ſafe; ſo much is love and charitie failed, and iniquitie increaſed upon the face of the earth.

Artificers. The excellencie and multitude likewiſe of Artificers exerciſing their manual arts and trades, do marvellouſly increaſe and enrich a State, whereof ſome are neceſſary, ſome commodious for a civil life, other ſome are of pomp and ornament, and other ſome of delicacie and curioſitie, whereof doth follow concourſe of people that labour and work, and

current money which doth enrich & ſupply of Materials for labourers, & work-men, buying & ſelling, tranſportation from place to place, which doth imploy and increaſe the artificious and cunning parts of the wit of Man; and this art and exquiſitneſs of work-manſhip and skill is ſo powerfull herein, that it far excels the ſimple commodities and materials that Nature produceth; and is alone ſufficient of it ſelf to make a Citie or State, both magnificent and glorious: and the daily experience we have in theſe our days, and in former times, doth manifeſtly approve the ſame, and make

make evident without all contradiction.

Some natural benefits that a Citie alſo may have for the excellencie of Art, or work-manſhip of ſome ſpecial commodities above any other place, either through the qualitie of the Water, or other matter whatſoever, or ſome hidden myſterie of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a citie.

The command of a Countrie that affordeth ſome proper commoditie, is of it ſelf ſufficient mightily to bring a Citie to great wealth, and to advance it to great power,

and draweth thereby dependencie and concourſe, much advantagious alſo, as well for the publick weal, as the private perſon.

A Citie alſo may be Lord of much Merchandize and traffick, by means of the commodious ſcituation to many Nations, to whom it ſerveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houſes, Roomth and Store-houſes, by reaſon whereof, the nations adjoyning do uſe to reſort thereunto to make their proviſions of ſuch things. And this conſiſteth in the largeneſs of the Ports, the fitneſs of the gulphs and creeks of the ſeas, in the Navigable rivers and

and channels, and the plain and ſafe ways that leadeth to the Citie, or that come, or turn by or near it.

Priviledge and freedom from Cuſtoms and exactions, doth greatly increaſe the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a citie, whereby the ſame may become both rich and powerfull; whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Markets bear good witneſs, which are frequented with great concourſe of people, Tradeſmen and Merchants, for no other reſpect, but that they are there free and frank from Cuſtoms and exactions. And the cities in *Flanders* are lively teſtimonies *Priviledge.*

hereof, where the Cuſtoms are very ſmall.

By reaſon whereof, all ſuch as have erected new Cities in times paſt to draw concourſe of people unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the leaſt, to the firſt inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have reſtored Cities emptied with Plague, conſumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famin or ſome other ſcourge of God. In reſpect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to ſuch as would, with their families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other

neceſ-

neceſſaries for proviſion of victual.

The *Romans*, to increaſe their Cities, made the Towns that well deſerved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchiſes and priviledges.

The firſt means the *Romans* uſed to allure people to make their habitations rather in *Rome* than elſe where, was the opening the Sanctuarie, and giving libertie and freedom to all that would come unto them. In reſpect whereof, there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions,

The firſt devi-ſes of Rome *to allure ſtrangers, was* Sanctuarie.

thruſt out of their habitations, or unſafe, or unſure for their lives in their own Countreys for Religion ſake.

The very ſame reaſon in a manner hath increaſed ſo much the citie of *Geneva:* foraſmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all commers out of *France* and *Italie*, that have either forſaken, or been exiled their Countreys for Religions ſake.

Triumphs. Likewiſe, triumphs, goodly buildings, battels on the water, fights of ſword-players, hunting of wild beaſts, publick ſhows and ſights, plays ſolemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many

many other ſuch things do draw the curious people to a citie inſpeakably, which leaves behind them much treaſure, and for ſuch cauſe will rather ſettle themſelves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was alſo the deviſe of *Rome* in her infancie to enlarge her ſelf.

The Cauſes that Concern the Magnificencie *of a* CITIE.

TO confirm a Citie in her Greatneſs, *Juſtice*, *Peace*, and *Plentie* are the undoubted means: for *Juſtice* aſſureth every man his own. *Peace* cauſeth all Arts and

negotiations whatſoever to flouriſh: and *Plentie* of food and victual, that ſuſtaineth the life of Man with eaſe and much contentment. To conclude, All thoſe things that cauſe the Greatneſs of a Citie, are alſo fit to conſerve the ſame.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Seat of GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government *is upheld by the two great pillars thereof,* viz. *Civil* Justice, *and Martial* Policie; *which are framed out of* Husbandrie, Merchandize, *and* Gentrie *of this Kingdom.*

THey say, that the goodliest CEDARS which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust

thruſt their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themſelves againſt the ſtrong ſtorms that blow there. As Nature hath inſtructed thoſe kings of Trees, ſo hath Reaſon taught the Kings of Men, to root themſelves in the hardie Hearts of their faithfull Subjects. And as thoſe kings of Trees have large Tops, ſo have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the firſt would ſoon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; ſo would the other eaſily tytter, were they not faſtened on their heads, with the ſtrong chains of Civil *Juſtice*,

ſtice, and Martial *Diſcipline*.

1. For the adminiſtration of the firſt, even God himſelf hath given direction, *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make, which ſhall judge the People with righteous judgement.*

2. The ſecond is grounded on the firſt Laws of the world and nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moſes* in the 20 of *Exodus*, and elſe where, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuſe in both, ſo have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms and States long before our days: for that Policie hath never

never yet prevailed (though it hath ſerved for a ſhort ſeaſon) where the counterfeit hath been ſold for the natural, and the outward ſhew and formalitie for the ſubſtance. Of the Emperor *Charls* the Fourth, the writers of that age witneſs, that he uſed but the name of *Juſtice* and good order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far, more knowledge than conſcience. Certainly the unjuſt Magiſtrate that fancieth to himſelf a ſollid and untranſparable bodie of Gold, every ordinarie wit can vitrifie, and make tranſparant pierce, and diſcern

ſcern their corruptions; howſoever, becauſe not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is alſo true, That conſtrained diſſimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppreſſed, either in publick eſtates, or in private perſons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leiſure of her lurking, but ſharpen her teeth, the voluntarie being no leſs baſe, than the forced malitious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* & their people, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphine*

phine and *John* of *Burgoign*, between *Charls* the Ninth and the *French* Proteſtants, and between *Henry* the third, his ſucceſſor, and the Lords of *Guiſe*, and hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world may ſerve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geographie, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is eaſie enough to conceive the beſt uſe of it, and by which it hath maintained it ſelf in laſting happineſs, it hath ever acquired more honour by perſwading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reaſon and Love are immortal, ſo do all other chains

chains or cords, both ruſtie and rot Noble parts of their own Royal and Politick bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to ſtretch this firſt ſtring of Civil *Juſtice*; for in reſpect of the firſt ſort of Men, *to wit*, of thoſe that live by their own labour, they have never been diſpleaſed where they have been ſuffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they ſeek the certaintie and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-Trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be ſpared, *Husbandmen.*

ſpared, they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the beſt of their grain to the eaſefull and idle.

Merchant. For the ſecond ſort, which are the Merchants, as the firſt feed the Kingdom, ſo do theſe enrich it, yea their trades, eſpecially thoſe which are forcible, are not the leaſt part of our Martial *Policie*, as hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages and times aſſiſted the Kings of this Land, not onely with great ſums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their enterpriſes beyond the ſeas.

ſeas. The ſecond have ſeldom or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commiſſion of Repriſal, they will either Right themſelves, or ſit down with their own loſs without complaint.

3. The third ſort, which are the Gentrie of *England*, theſe being neither ſeated in the loweſt grounds, & thereby ſubject to the biting of every beaſt, nor in the higheſt Mountains, and thereby in danger to be torn with tempeſt; but the Valleys between *Gentry*

tween both, have their parts in the inferiour Juſtice, and being ſpred over all, are the Garriſons of good order throughout the Realm.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's LETTERS.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Mr Secretary* Winwood, *before his Journey to* Guiana.

Honourable SIR,

I Was lately perſwaded, by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with ſome offers of mine, made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of opinion,

opinion, That it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majestie, and to the Treasurer *Cecill*, wherein as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made, are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes hath seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had

the

the greateſt truſt, were reſolved not to believe it, not becauſe they doubted the Truth, but becauſe they doubted my Diſpoſition towards themſelves; where (if God had bleſſed me in the enterpriſe) I had recovered his Majeſties favour and good opinion. Other cauſe than this, or other ſuſpition they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extream curious in ſearching out the Nature of my offences, The Queens Majeſtie hath informed her ſelf from the beginning, The King of Denmark at both times of his being here was throughly ſatisfied of my innocencie

nocency, they would otherwiſe never have moved his Majeſtie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not uſe to ſue for men ſuſpect; but Sir, ſince they all have done it out of their charitie, and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whoſe reſpect hath onely relation to his Majeſties ſervice) ſtrengthened by the example of thoſe Princes, may with the more hardneſs do the like, being Princes to whom his Majeſties good eſtate is no leſs dear, and all men that ſhall oppugne it, no leſs hatefull, than to the King himſelf.

It

It is true Sir, That his Majeſtie hath ſometimes anſwered, That his Councel knew me better than he did; meaning ſome two or three of them. And it was indeed my infelicitie; for had his Majeſtie known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majeſtie, they had never been ſo long there where they now are. His Majeſtie not knowing of me hath been my ruin, and his Majeſties misknowing of them, hath been the ruin of a goodly part of his eſtate: but they are all of them now, ſome living and ſome dying, come to his Majeſties know-

ledge. But Sir, how little ſoever his Majeſtie knew me, and how much ſoever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majeſtie both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majeſtie, nor Life, nor ought elſe had remained. In this reſpect Sir, I am bound to yield up the ſame life, and all I have for his Majeſties ſervice; to die for the King, and not by the King, is all the ambition I have in the world.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleighs's *Letter to his* Wife, *from* Guiana.

Sweet Heart,

I Can yet write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have ſuffered the moſt violent Calenture for fifteen days, that ever man did, and lived: but God that gave me a ſtrong heart in all my adverſities, hath alſo now ſtrengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two moſt grievous ſickneſſes in our Ship, of which fourtie two have died, and there are yet many ſick, but having recovered the land of *Guiana*,

this 12 of *November*, I hope we ſhall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the reſt of our Fleet are reaſonable ſtrong, ſtrong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our ſtrength known to the Spaniſh King, by his Ambaſſadour, have not taught the Spaniſh King to fortifie all the enterances againſt us; howſoever we muſt make the Adventure, and if we periſh, it ſhall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majeſtie to looſe among many other an, hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of

Of Captain *Baylies* baſe coming from us at the *Canaries*, ſee a Letter of *Kemiſhes* to Mr *Skory*, & of the unnatural weather, ſtorms and rains, and winds. He hath in the ſame letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been ſailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days; God I truſt, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In paſſage to the *Canaries*, I ſtayed at *Gomerah*, where I took water in peace, becauſe the Countrey durſt not denie it me; I received there of an Engliſh race, a Preſent of Oranges, Lemons, Quinces, and Pome-granates, without

which I could not have lived; thoſe I preſerved in freſh ſands, and I have of them yet to my great refreſhing. Your ſon had never ſo good health, having no diſtemper in all the heat under the Line. All my ſervants have eſcaped but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the ſickneſs. *Crofts* and *March*, and the reſt are all well. Remember my ſervice to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miſeries: yet of men of ſort, we have loſt our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigott*, and his Lieuetenant, Captain *Edward*

ward Haſtings, who would have died at home, for both his liver, ſpleen, and brains were rotten. My ſons Lieuetenant *Payton*, and my coſin *Mr. Hews*, *Mr. Mordant*, *Mr. Gardner*, *Mr. Haward*, Captain *Jennings* the Merchant, *Kemiſh* of *London*, and the Maſter Chyrurgion, *Mr.* Refiner, *Mr. Moor* the Governour of the *Barmoudas*, our Provoſt Marſh. *W. Steed*, Lieuetenant *Veſcie*, but to mine ineſtimable grief, *Hamon* and *Talbot*. By the next I truſt you ſhall hear better of us, in Gods hands we were, and in him we truſt.

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmitie of his

head I have ſent back, an honeſt valiant man, he can deliver you all that is paſt. Cõmend me to my worthy friends at *Loathbury*, S^r. *John Leigh* and *Mr. Bower*, whoſe Nephew *Knevit* is well, and to my coſin *Blundell*, and my moſt devoted and humble ſervice to her Majeſtie.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a vanitie, but my name hath ſtill lived among them; here they feed me with freſh meat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my ſon.

From Galliana *in* Guiana, the 14 of *November*.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to* *Sir* Ralph Winwood.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and paſſages towards the *Indies*, ſo have I no other ſubject to write of, than of the greateſt misfortunes that ever befel any man: for whereas, for the firſt, All thoſe that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* & *America*, to paſs between fifteen or twentie days at moſt, we found the wind ſo contrary, and which are alſo contrary to nature, ſo many ſtorms and rains, as we ſpent ſix weeks in the paſſage, by

reaſon whereof, and that in ſo great heat we wanted water: for at the Iſle *Prano* of *Cape de verd*, we loſt our Anchors and Cables, and our water Casks, being driven from the Iſland with a *Hurlicano*, and were like all to have periſhed. Great ſickneſs fell amongſt us, and carried away great numbers of our ableſt men both for ſea and land. The 17 of *November*, we had ſight of *Guiana*, and ſoon after came to Anchor in five degrees at the River *Galliano*, here we ſtaid till the fourth of *December*, landed our ſick men, ſet up the Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of

of *England* in quarters, waſhed our Ships, and took in freſh water, being fed and cheriſhed by the *Indians* of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love & reſpect, my ſelf being in the hands of death theſe *6* weeks, & was not able otherwiſe to move than as I was carried in a chair, gave order to 5 ſmall Ships, to ſail into *Orinoque*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mynes, and in thoſe five Ships five Companies of 50 under the command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and

and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my ſon had the third Company, Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Sergeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countreys* died in the former miſerable paſſage, ſo my Lieuetenant Sir *Warham* S. *Leiger* lay ſick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had alſo ſerved long with infinite commendations; but by reaſon of my abſence, and of Sir *Warhams* was not ſo well obeyed as the

the Enterprize required. As they paſſed up the River, the Spaniard began the War, and ſhot at us both with their Ordinance & Muskets, whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them, and ſoon after beat them out of the Town. In the aſſault, my ſon (more deſirous of honour than ſafetie) was ſlain, with whom (to ſay truth) all the reſpects of this world have taken end in me. And although theſe five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongſt them ſome twentie or thirtie valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of ſingular

gular courage, as of my ſons Company, *Mr. Knivet*, *Mr. Hammon*, *Mr. Langworth*, *Mr. John Pleaſington*; his Officers, *Sir John Hamden*, *Mr. Symon Leak* Corporal of the Field, *Mr. Hammon* the elder Brother, *Mr. Nicholas* of *Buckingham*, *Mr. Roberts* of *Kent*, *Mr. Perin*, *Mr. Treſham*, *Mr. Mullinax*, *Mr. Winter* and his brother, *Mr. Wray*, *Mr. Miles Herbart*, *Mr. Bradſhaw*; Capt. *Hall*, & others.

Sir, I have ſet down the names of theſe Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majeſtie ſhall have cauſe to uſe their ſervice, it may pleaſe you to take notice of them for very ſufficient Gentlemen.

men. The other five Ships ſtaid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable for them near *Guiana*. The ſecond Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Capt. *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the ſufficienteſt Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by *Sir Warham* S. *Leiger*, an exceeding valiant & worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sr *John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With theſe five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they ſet upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, an hundred and

and fiftie miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed, being of no force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had reſolved to have been burnt by their ſides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they ſtaid for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we muſt paſs towards the *Indies*: for it pleaſed his Majeſtie to value us at ſo little, as to command me upon my Alleageance, to ſet down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it; to ſet down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordinance every

every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and by him to the King of *Spain*, a diſpatch was made, and letters ſent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Thames*; for his firſt letter ſent by a Barque of Adviſe, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which letter I have here incloſed ſent to your Honour, the reſt I reſerve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The ſecond by the King, dated the ſecond of *May*, ſent alſo by a Coronel of *Diego de Polonieque*, Governour of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Biſhop

ſhop of *Porericho*, and delivered to *Polonieque* the 15 of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was ſent from the Farmer and Secretarie of his Cuſtoms in the *Indies*. At the ſame time, by that of the Kings hand, ſent by the Biſhop, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeedie levying of three hundred ſouldiers, and ten pieces of Ordinance to be ſent from *Portricho*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fiftie from *Nuevo Remo de Grando*, under the command of Captain *Anthony Muſica*, and the other hundred and fiftie from *Portricho*, to be conducted by C. *Franc. Laudio*.

Now

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* ſince his Majeſties time knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment ſhall we expect if they conquer us? certainly they have hitherto failed groſly, being ſet out thence as we were, both for number, time, and place.

Laſtly, to make an Apologie for not working the Myne, (although I know his Majeſtie expects) whom I am to ſatisfie ſo much, as my ſelf, having loſt my ſon, and my eſtate in the Enterpriſe, yet it is true, that the Spaniards

ards took more care to defend the paſſage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the Kings inſtructions they might eaſily do, the Countreys being *Aſpera & Nemoſa.*

But it is true, that when Capt. *Kemiſh* found the River low, and that he could not approch the Banks in moſt places near the Myne by a Mile, and where he found a diſcent, a volley of Muskets came from the woods upon the Boat, and ſlew two Rowers, and hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thornix*, of which wound he languiſheth to this day. He,

to

to wit, *Kemiſh*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to diſcover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuſe at his return, that the Companies of Engliſh in the Town of S.*Thome* were not able to defend it, againſt the daily and nightly aſſaults of the Spaniards, that the paſſages to the Mynes, were thick and unpaſſable woods, and that the Myne being diſcovered, they had no men to work it, did not diſcover it at all: for it is true, the Spaniards having two gold Mynes near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the ſecond by *Harmian Frotinio*, the

the third of ſilver, by Captain *Franciſco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them: for as the *Indians* cannot be conſtrained by a Law of *Charls* the Fifth, ſo the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of thoſe Mynes, whatſoever the Bragadochio, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſaith. I ſhall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Cuſtom-Book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I ſhall alſo make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how eaſily thoſe Mynes, and five or ſix more of them may be poſſeſſed, and the moſt of them in

in thoſe parts, which never have as yet been attempted by any, nor by any paſſage to them, nor ever diſcovered by the Engliſh, French, or Dutch. But at *Kemiſh* his return from *Orinoque*, when I rejected his counſel and his courſe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the King paſt recoverie, he ſlew himſelf; for I told him, that ſeeing my ſon was ſlain, I cared not if I had loſt an hundred more in opening of the Myne, ſo my credit had been ſaved: for I proteſt before God, had not Capt. *Whitney* (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Ca-

Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another ſhip with him of Captain *Wolleſtons*. I would have left my body at S. *Thomes* by my ſons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mynes, ſo much Gold-oar, as ſhould have ſatisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what ſhall become of me I know not, I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor eſtate conſumed, and whether any Prince will give me bread or no I know not. I deſire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my ſervice to my Lord of *Arrundel* and

Pem-

Pembrook, to take ſome pitie on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her ſorrow for her ſon; and beſeech you to give a copie of this to my Lord *Carew*: for to a broken mind, a ſick bodie, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for diſcovering the ſtate and weakneſs of the *Indies*, which if I live, I ſhall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I ſhall remain a faithfull ſervant.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter ſent to his* Wife, *Copied out of his own hand-writing.*

I Was loath to write, becauſe I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what ſorrow meant till now. All that I can ſay to you is, that you muſt obey the will and providence of God, and remember, that the Queens Majeſtie bare the loſs of Prince *Henry* with a magnanimous heart, and the Ladie *Harrington* of her ſon. Comfort your heart (deareſt *Beſs*) I ſhall ſorrow for us both, I ſhall ſorrow the leſs, becauſe

I

I have not long to ſorrow, becauſe not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretarie *Winwoods* Letter, who will give you a copie of it, if you ſend for it, therein you ſhall know what hath paſſed; I have written that Letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and eſpecially of miſery. I have deſired Mr. Secretarie to give my Lord *Carew* a copie of his Letter. I have clenſed my ſhip of ſick men, and ſent them home; I hope God will ſend us ſomewhat before we return. You ſhall hear from me if, I live, from the New-found land, where I mean to make clean

my ſhips and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bleſs and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valliant ſon.

This 22. *of* March, *from the Iſle of* Chriſtophers, *yours* Walter Raleigh.

Poſt-ſcript.

I Proteſt before the Majeſtie of God, That as Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins* died heart-broken when they failed of their enterpriſe, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend againſt ſorrow for your ſake, in hope to provide ſomewhat for you and to

to comfort and releive you. If I live to return, reſolve your ſelf that it is the care for you that hath ſtrengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemiſh* might have gone directly to the Myne, & meant it, but after my ſons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excuſed himſelf upon want of water in the River, and counterfeiting many impediments left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was loſt for ever; he anſwered, That when my ſon was loſt, and that he left me ſo weak, that he reſolved not to find me alive, he had

no reaſon to enrich a companie of Raſcals, who after my ſons death made no account of him. He further told me that the Engliſh ſent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the Spaniſh town of S. *Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to paſs through thick woods it was impoſſible, and more impoſſible to have victual brought them into the Mountains. And it is true, that the Governour *Diego Polenego*, and other four Captains being ſlain, whereof *Wats* ſlew one, *Pleſſington*, *Wats* ſervant, and *John* of *Moroccoes*, one of his men, ſlew other two. I ſay five of them ſlain in the enter-

terance of the Town, the reſt went off in a whole bodie, and took more care to defend the paſſages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, beſides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town it ſelf. Yet *Kemiſh* at the firſt was reſolved to go to the Myne; but when he came to the banck ſide to Land, and had two of his men ſlain outright from the bank, and ſix other hurt, and Captain *Thornix* ſhot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away theſe twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemiſh* came

back and gave me the former Reaſons which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my ſon, a ſecond the weakneſs of the Engliſh, and their impoſſibilities to work and to be victualled; a third that it were a follie to diſcover it for the Spaniards; and laſtly my weakneſs and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all theſe his Arguments, and told him, that I muſt leave him to himſelf to reſolve it to the King and State, he ſhut up himſelf into his Cabbin, and ſhot himſelf with a pocket Piſtol which broke one of his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thruſt

thruſt a long Knife under his ſhort ribs up to the handle and died. Thus much I have written to M. Secretarie, to whoſe Letters I refer you to know the truth. I did after the ſealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the ſtate of that buſineſs, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scory*.

For the reſt, there was never poor man ſo expoſed to ſlaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Alleageance to ſet down not onely the Countrey but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my

Ships number, men, and my Artillerie. This now was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his Master the King of *Spain*, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governour *Palamago* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*, of which the first Letter bore date 19 of *March* 1617, at *Madrill*, when I had not yet left the Thames, which Letter I have sent to Mr Secretarie. I have also other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the Councels. The King also sent a Commission to leavie three hundred souldiers out of his Garrisons of *unie Regno*

gno de Granado è Portricho, with ten pieces of braſs Ordinance to entertain us; he alſo prepared an Army by ſea to ſet upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preſerved, if I live I ſhall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney* for whom I ſold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Wolleſton* with him, ſo as I have now but five Ships, and out of thoſe I have ſent ſome into my Fly-

boat,

boat, a rabble of idle Raſcals, which I know will not ſpare to wound me, but I care not. I am ſure there is never a baſe ſlave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have ſlept ſo little, and travelled ſo much, my friends will not believe them, and for the reſt I care not; God in heaven bleſs you and ſtrengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Mr Secretary* Winwood.

SIR,

SInce the death of *Kemiſh*, it is confeſſed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them, that he could have brought them unto the Myne within two hours March from the River ſide; but becauſe my ſon was ſlain, my ſelf unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reaſon to open the Myne either for the Spaniard or for the King; they anſwered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted my heart under

under the Great Seal. He replyed, that the grant to me was to no man, *non Ens* in the Law, and therefore of no force; this diſcourſe they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was reſolved to write unto your Honour, he prayed me to joyn with him in excuſing his not going to the Myne, I anſwered him I would not do it; but if my ſelf could ſatisfie the King and State, that he had reaſon not to open it, I ſhould be glad of it: but for my part, I muſt avow that he knew it, and that he might with loſs have done it; other excuſes I would not frame: he told me

that

that he would wait on me preſently, and give me better ſatisfaction: but I was no ſooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Piſtol go over my head, and ſending to know who ſhot it, word was brought me that *Kemiſh* ſhot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanſe it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much bloud by him, and looking in his face ſaw him dead; the Piſtol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over found a long Knife in his bodie, all but the handle. Sir, I have ſent into *England* with my coſin *Harbert* (a very

ry valiant honeſt Gentleman) divers unworthy perſons, good for nothing neither by ſea nor land, and though it was at their own ſuit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beſeech your Honour, that the ſcorn of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and ſuffered more than the meaneſt Raſcal in the Ship; theſe being gone, I ſhall be able to keep the Sea until the end of *Auguſt*, with ſome four reaſonable good ſhips. Sir, whereſoever God ſhal permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have

have done, till then, and ever I reſt

Your Honours

ſervant

W. Raleigh.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to King JAMES, at his return from *GUIANA.*

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſtie,

IF in my Journey outward bound, I had my men mur-

murthered at the Iſlands, and yet ſpared to take revenge, if I did diſcharge ſome Spaniſh Barks taken without ſpoil, if I forbare all parts of the Spaniſh *Indies*, wherein I might have taken twentie of their Downs on the ſea-coaſts, and did onely follow the enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any directions from me, a Spaniſh Village was burnt, which was new ſet up within three miles of the Myne. By your Majeſties favour, I find no reaſon why the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſhould complain of me. If it were lawfull for the Spaniards to murther twentie

ſix Engliſh men, tying them back to back, and then cuting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without ſo much as one ſword, and that it may not be lawfull for your Majeſties ſubjects, being charged firſt by them, to repell force by force, we may juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Engliſh!*

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach* and other places in the *Honduraes*, ſeated in the heart of the Spaniſh *Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing ſaid unto them at their return, and my ſelf forbore

bore to look into the *Indies*; becauſe I would not offend, I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

If I have ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt my ſon, ſuffered by ſickneſs and otherwiſe a world of miſeries; if I have reſiſted with manifeſt hazard of my life, the Robberies & Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich, if when I was poor, I would have made my ſelf rich, if when I have gotten my libertie, which all men and nature it ſelf do much prize, I voluntarily loſt it, if when I was ſure of my life, I rendered it again, if I might elſewhere have ſold my

my ſhip and goods, and put five or ſix thouſand pounds in my purſs and yet brought her into *England*, I beſeech your Majeſtie to believe, that all this I have done, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid to your Majeſtie, that your Majeſtie had given libertie and truſt to a man whoſe end was but the recoverie of his libertie, and who had betrayed your Majeſties truſt.

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned for *England* I ſhould be undone, but I believed in your Majeſties goodneſs more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the firſt that being free and able to enrich my ſelf, yet hath

hath embraced povertie and peril. And as ſure I am, that my example ſhall make me the laſt : but your Majeſties wiſdom and goodneſs I have made my judges, who have ever been, and ſhall ever be,

Your Majeſties

moſt humble Vaſſal

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleighs's *Letter to his* Wife, *after his Condemnation.*

YOu ſhall receive (my dear Wife) my Laſt words in theſe my Laſt lines; my love I ſend you, that you may keep when I am dead, & my counſel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will preſent you ſorrows (dear *Beſs*) let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the duſt. And ſeeing that it is not the will of God that I ſhall ſee you any more, bear my deſtruction patiently, and with an heart like your ſelf.

Firſt

Firſt I ſend you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words expreſs, for your many travels and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wiſhed, yet my debt to you is not the leſs; but pay it I never ſhall in this world.

Secondly, I beſeech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide your ſelf many days, but by your travels ſeek to help the miſerable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child, your mourning cannot avail me that am but duſt.

Thirdly, you ſhall underſtand, that my Lands were conveyed

conveyed *(bona fide)* to my Child, the writings were drawn at Midſummer was twelve moneths, as divers can witneſs, and I truſt my bloud will quench their malice who deſired my ſlaughter, that they will not ſeek alſo to kill you and yours with extream povertie. To what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of triall. Moſt ſorrie am I, that being thus ſurpriſed by death, I can leave you no better Eſtate, God hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all, and if you can live free from want, care

for no more, for the reſt is but a vanitie: Love God, and begin betimes, in him you ſhall find true, everlaſting, and endleſs comfort, when you have travelled and wearied your ſelf with all ſorts of worldly cogitations, you ſhall ſit down by ſorrow in the end. Teach your ſon alſo to ſerve and fear God whileſt he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Husband to you, and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thouſand pounds, and *Aryan* ſix hundred; in *Ferneſey* alſo I have

have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beſeech you, for my Souls ſake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you ſhall be much ſought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater miſerie can befall you in this life, than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be deſpiſed. I ſpeak (God knows) not to diſſwade you from Marriage, for it will be beſt for you, both in reſpect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us aſunder, & God hath divided me from the world, & you from

me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers ſake, who loved you in his happieſt eſtate. I ſued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I deſired it: for, know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own reſpect deſpiſeth Death and his misſhapen & ugly forms. I cannot write much, (God knows) how hardly I ſteal this time when all ſleep, and it is alſo time for me to ſeperate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead bodie, which living was denied you, and either lay it in *Sherborn* or in *Exeter* Church by my father

ther and mother. I can ſay no more, Time and Death calleth me away. The everlaſting God, powerfull, infinite, and inſcrutable God Almightie, who is goodneſs it ſelf, the true Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me, and forgive my Perſecutors and falſe accuſers, and ſend us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear Wife farewel, Bleſs my Boy, Pray for me, and let my true God hold you both in his Arms.

Yours that was, but

now not mine own

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Prince* Henry, *touching the model of a Ship.*

Moſt excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highneſs intends to build, be bigger than the *Victorie*, then her beams, which are laid overthwart from ſide to ſide will not ſerve again, and many other of her timbers and other ſtuff, will not ſerve, whereas if ſhe be a ſize leſs, the timber of the old Ship will ſerve well to the building of a new.

If ſhe be bigger ſhe will be of leſs uſe, go very deep to water, and of mightie charge, our Channels decaying

ing every year, leſs nimble, leſs mannyable, and ſeldom to be uſed *Grande Navio, grande fatica,* ſaith the Spaniard.

A Ship of ſix hundred Tuns, will carrie as good Ordinance as a Ship of twelve hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordinance, the leſs will turn her broad ſide twice, before the great Ship can wind once, and ſo no advantage in that over-plus of Guns. The leſſer will go over clear where the greater ſhall ſtick and periſh; the leſſer will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is ſlow, unmany-

able, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.

2. Swift in sail.

3. Stout-sided.

4. That her Ports be so laid, as that she may carry out her Guns all weathers.

5. That she hull and trie well.

6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the work-man; to make her swift, is to give her a large

large Run, or way forward, and ſo aftward, done by art and juſt proportion, and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind, the Ship-wright be ſure, that ſhe neither ſink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Ship-wrights do often fail, and then is the ſpeed in ſailing utterly ſpoiled.

That ſhe be ſtout-ſided, the ſame is provided by a long bearing floar, and by ſharing off from above water to the lower edge of the Ports, which done, then will ſhe carry out her Ordinance all weathers.

To make her to hull and

to trie well, which is called a good ſea-Ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that ſhe have a good draught of water, the other that ſhe be not over-charged: And this is ſeldom done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or trie in them with our main Courſe and mizen, which with a deep keel and ſtanding ſtreak, ſhe would perform.

The extream length of a Ship makes her unapt to ſtay, eſpecially if ſhe be floatie and want ſharpneſs of way forward. And it is moſt true, that ſuch over-long Ships, are fitter for the narrow

row Seas in ſummer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages: and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirtie five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships ſharp before, not having a long floar, will fall rough into the ſea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the ſame qualitie have all narrow-quartered ſhips to ſink after the tail. The high Cargeing of ſhips, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extream Lee-ward, makes them ſink deep into the ſeas, makes them

them labour ſore in foul weather, and oft-times overſet. Safetie is more to be reſpected than ſhews, or niceneſs for eaſe; in ſea-journeys both cannot well ſtand together, and therefore the moſt neceſſarie is to be choſen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Maſters Cabbin. Our Maſters and Mariners will ſay, that the ſhips will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinarie Mariners ſerved in them. But men of better ſort, unuſed to ſuch a life, cannot ſo well endure the rowling and tumbling from ſide to ſide, where the

ſeas

ſeas are never ſo little grown, which comes by high Cargeing. Beſides thoſe high Cabbin-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their ſplinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or elſe theſe beſt pieces are idle at ſea: for if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen loſt, in the days of *Henry* the Eigth, before the Iſle of *Wight*, in a Ship called by the name of *Mary-Roſe*.

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

PILGRIMAGE.

GIve me my Scallop ſhell of Quiet,
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy immortal Diet;
My Bottle of Salvation.
My Gown of Glorie (Hopes true gage)
And thus Ile take my *Pilgrimage*.
Bloud muſt be my Bodies onely Balmer,
No other Balm will there be given
Whil'ſt my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,
Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven.
Over the ſilver Mountains
Where ſprings the Nectar Fountains,
There I will kiſs the Bowl of Bliſs,
And drink mine everlaſting fill
Upon every Milken hill.
My Soul will be adrie before,
But after, it will thirſt no more.
Ile take them firſt, to quench my Thirſt,
And taſt of Nectars ſuckets,

At

At thoſe clear Wells
Where ſweetneſs dwells,
Drawn up by Saints in Chryſtal Buckets.
Then by that happy bleſtfull day,
More peacefull Pilgrimes I ſhall ſee,
That have caſt off their rags of clay,
And walk apparelled freſh like me.
And when our Bottles and all we
Are fill'd with Immortalitie.
Then the bleſſed Paths wee'l travel,
Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,
Sealings of Diamonds, Saphire flowers,
High walls of Coral, and Pearly Bowers.
From thence to Heavens bribeleſs Hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No Conſcience molten into Gold,
No ſotg'd Accuſer bought or ſold,
No cauſe deferr'd, no vain-ſpent Journey,
For there, *CHRIST* is the Kings Attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath Angels, but no Fees:
And when the twelve Grand-million Jurie
Of our Sins, with direfull furie,
'Gainſt our Souls black Verdicts give,
Chriſt pleads his Death, and then we Live.

Be

Be thou my Speaker [taintleſs Pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
Thou would'ſt Salvation even for Alms,
Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
And this is mine eternal Plea
To him that made Heaven, Earth, and Sea,
That ſince my Fleſh muſt die ſo ſoon,
And want a Head to dine next noon,
Juſt at the ſtroak, when my Veins ſtart and (ſpread,
Set on my Soul an everlaſting Head.
Then am I readie, like a Palmer, fit (writ.
To tread thoſe bleſt Paths which before I

Of *Death* and *Judgement*, *Heaven* and *Hell*,
Who oft doth think, muſt needs Die well.

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s VERSES; Found in his *Bible* in the *Gate-house* at *Weſtminſter.*

EVen ſuch is Time, which takes in truſt
Our Youth, our Joys, and all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Duſt,
When in the dark and ſilent Grave:
When we have wandred all our ways,
Shuts up the ſtorie of our days:
And from which Grave, & Earth, & Duſt,
The Lord ſhall raiſe me up I truſt.

Sir W. RALEIGH, *On the* Snuff *of* a Candle *the night before he died.*

COwards fear to Die, but Courage ſtout,
Rather than Live in Snuff, will be put out.

Sir

Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S SPEECH

Immediately before he was beheaded.

UPon *Simon* and *Judes* day, the Lieuetenant of the Tower had a Warrant to bring his Priſoner to the Kings-Bench in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the Attorney General demanded Execution, according to the Judgement pronounced againſt him at *Wincheſter*, the Lord Chief Juſtice cauſed the Indictment, Verdict, and Judge-

Judgement to be read, and after asked him, what he could ſay, Why he ſhould not die according to the Law; his anſwer was, That this fifteen years he had lived by the meer mercy of the King, and did now wonder how his Mercy was turned into Juſtice, he not knowing any thing wherein he had provoked his Majeſties diſpleaſure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Judgement by the Kings Commiſſion in making him General of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his truſtie and welbeloved ſubject*, &c. Did in themſelves imply a Pardon.

don. But Maſter Attorney told him, theſe words were not ſufficient for that purpoſe. Whereupon he deſired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Juſtice replied, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir *Walter Raleigh* to make a long deſcription of the events and ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Juſtice, who told him, that it was not for any offence committed there, but for his firſt fact that he was now called in queſtion, and thereupon told him, That ſeeing he muſt prepare to die, he would not add affliction to affliction,

on, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of miſerie; but with the good *Samaritane* adminiſter oyl and wine for the comfort of his diſtreſſed Soul. You have been a General, & a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thruſting himſelf into the middeſt of a Battel, cried aloud, *Mors me Expectat, & ego Mortem Expectabo*, as you ſhould not contemn ſo to do, nor ſhould you fear death, the one ſheweth too much boldneſs, the other no leſs cowardize, ſo with ſome other few inſtructions the Court aroſe, and Sir *Walter* was commit-

ed

ed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middleſex*, who preſently conveyed him to the Gate-houſe in *Weſtminſter*.

Upon Thurſday morning this Couragious, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-houſe, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading, yet it was doubted over-night that he ſhould be hanged, but it fell out otherwiſe. He had no ſooner mounted the ſcaffold, but with a chearfull Countenance, and undaunted Look, he ſaluted the Companie. His Attire was a wrought Night-cap, a Ruff band, a hair-coloured Sattin Doublet,

blet, with a black wrought Waſte-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffety Breeches, a pair of aſh-coloured Silk Stockings, & a wrought black Velvet Night-gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords preſent, as followeth.

My honourable Lords, and the reſt of my good friends that come to ſee me die, Know, that I much rejoyce that it hath pleaſed God to bring me from darkneſs to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in diſgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I loſe my life, yet I ſhall

ſhall clear ſome falſe accuſations, unjuſtly laid to my charge, and leave behind me a teſtimonie of a true heart, both to my King and Countrey.

Two things Sir *W. Raleigh* accuſed of.

Two things there are which have exceedingly poſſeſt and provoked his Majeſties indignation againſt me, viz. *A Confederacie, or Combination with* France, *and diſloyal and diſobedient words of my Prince. For the firſt, his Majeſtie had ſome cauſe, though grounded upon a weak foundation, to ſuſpect mine inclination to the* French *faction, for not long before my departure from* England, *the* French *Agent took occaſion, paſſing by my houſe, to viſit me, had*

ſome conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my voyage, and nothing elſe, I take God to witneſs.

Another ſuſpition is had of me, becauſe I did labour to make an eſcape from Plymouth *to* France; *I cannot denie, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my life, upon my return to* London, *I would have eſcaped for the ſafeguard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conſpiracie againſt the State.*

The like reaſon of ſuſpition aroſe, in that I perſwaded Sir Lewis Steukly, *my Guardian, to flee with me from* London

London *to* France, *but my Anſwer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my ſafeguard, and nought elſe, was my intent, as I ſhall anſwer before the Almightie.*

It is alleadged, That I feigned my ſelf ſick, and by art made my bodie full of bliſters when I was at Salisbury. *True it is, I did ſo; the reaſon was, becauſe I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Councel, and ſo by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an Example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in caſe of neceſsitie, and for the ſafeguard of life,* David *feigned himſelf fooliſh and*

mad, yet was it not imputed to him for ſin.

Concerning the ſecond Imputation laid to my charge, that I ſhould ſpeak ſcandalous and reprochfull words of my Prince, there is no witneſs againſt me but onely one, and he a Chimical French-*man, whom I entertained, rather for his Feſts than his Fudgement: this man to incroach himſelf into the favour of the Lords, and gaping after ſome great reward, hath falſly accuſed me of Seditious ſpeeches againſt his Majeſtie; againſt whom, if I did either ſpeak, or think a thought hurtfull or prejudicial, the Lord blot me out of the book of Life.*

It

It is not a time to flatter or fear Princes, for I am a ſubject to none but Death; therefore have a charitable conceit of me. That I know to ſwear is an offence, to ſwear falſly at any time is a great ſin, but to ſwear falſe before the preſence of Almightie God, before whom I am forthwith to appear, were an offence unpardonable; therefore think me not now raſhly, or untruly to confirm, or proteſt any thing.

As for other objections, in that I was brought perforce into England, *that I carried ſixteen thouſand pounds in money out of* England *with me, more than I made known; that I ſhould receive Letters*

from the French *King*, and such like, with many Protestations he utterly denied.

FINIS.